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8 October 1962

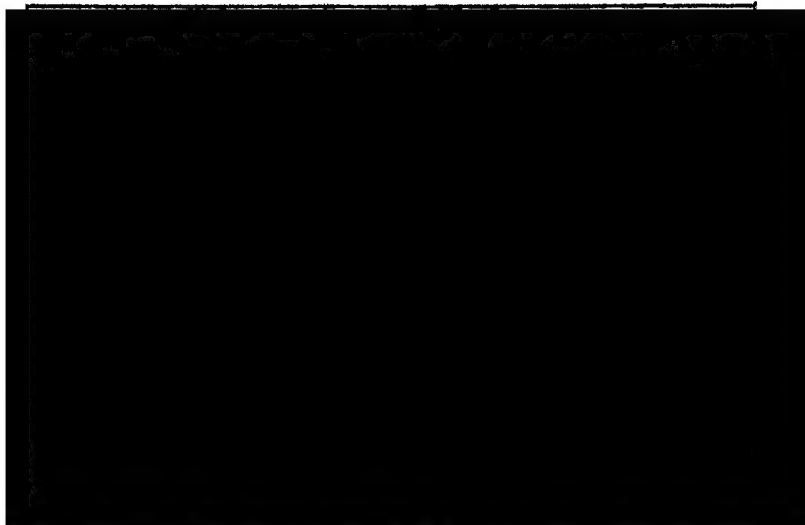


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ADDENDUM



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A Casual Look at The
Soviet Union

A 26-page pamphlet, reprint of six articles from July issues of the Hindustan Times, in which S. Mulgaokar reports on his trip to the USSR. The report opens by giving due credit to Soviet productivity and the like. In looking at the social, political, and personal costs of the Soviet system, however, Mr. Mulgaokar leaves serious doubts as to the desirability of the Soviet Communist way of doing things.

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(Addendum)

OPEN WAY TOWARDS A SOCIALIST ALGERIA
Programme Of The Communist Party of Algeria

New Age, Communist Party Weekly
New Delhi, August 5, 1962

The recently-published Programme of the Algerian Communist Party is "a programme of national liberation, true democracy and economic and social progress."

"It is the programme for the building of an Algerian State, of national democracy, which should open up the way towards a socialist Algeria", declares this historic document - the first and so far the only statement of aims by any Algerian political group.

In defining "What the Algerian Republic Should be", it calls firstly for "an independent republic, sovereign, one and indivisible", making it clear that this implies the evacuation "sooner or later" of French troops and bases.

Algerian unity "implies the ending of all privileges arising out of colonisation. This is not incompatible with the guaranteeing of the legitimate non-colonialist interests of the Algerian minority of European or of Jewish origin, with their equal representation within the elected assemblies, respect for their particular language, culture and religion, within the framework of Algerian law."

Secondly, the Programme declares that the Algerian Republic should be "a truly democratic republic". This, it points out, implies the rejection of authoritarian methods and of repression of the masses."

True democracy "should also be apparent in the institutions of the Algerian state", to be created by a Constituent National Assembly elected by direct, single, universal and secret ballot by all over the age of 18, with all Algerians over the age of 20 eligible to stand as candidates.

This Constituent Assembly should draw up a Constitution. Its provisions should include:

- a single National Assembly elected for four years, with a government formed by it and responsible to it;
- a national non-regular people's army which "will help in the tasks of reconstruction to the extent that it is not occupied with national defence.... The people will ensure that this army is not used as an instrument of reactionary and anti-democratic policies, as has been the case in many Middle East and Latin American countries";
- guarantees for human rights, individual liberty and freedom of thought, opinion, press, public meetings, association, worship, the recognition of trade union rights and the right to strike.

Thirdly, the Algerian Republic should be "a Social Republic" - "political independence alone will not bring about the tremendous change in the situation which is required: it should be accompanied by true economic independence and radical social measures."

Analysing the economic situation of Algeria, the Programme points out that it is characterised by "the relationship of domination and dependence imposed by the colonial regime.

"This domination is first of all direct; the landed property owners, ultra-colonialists, possess the best land whilst the French monopolists and foreign monopolists have their hands on the mineral and fuel resources, on industrial enterprises and the banks....

"Domination is equally indirect; it is exercised by colonial institutions imposed on the people, such as the Customs Union (with France - Ed.) free-dom

The Programme makes a critical examination of the financial and economic provisions of the Evian Agreement which brought about a cease-fire in Algeria.

The Agreement marked a "considerable step forward" and "admits the principle of the economic and financial sovereignty of Algeria" but "there are limitations to certain parts of this sovereignty, in particular in the section dealing with agrarian reform and nationalisation of the main wealth of the country."

The Algerian Communist Party demands the complete ending of economic and financial dependence on French imperialism, the breaking of the stranglehold of the French and international monopolies and an end to the privileges enjoyed by the colonialists and feudalists.

It calls for an economic plan to develop the national economy, diversify production (thus ending the dependence on a small number of crops or products characteristic of colonial economies) and improve living standards.

This plan should be based on:

- agrarian reform;
- the mobilisation of savings for investment, above all in heavy industry;
- full employment on work of national interest.

On the first point, the Programme declares that "the Algerian Communist Party proposes the confiscation, pure and simple, and without compensation, of land owned by the big colonialists," pointing out that these number about 7,000 and alone own about 90 per cent of the colonised land.

It calls for the confiscation of the land of the big Algerian feudal landowners and of big estates belonging to landlords who collaborated with the French colonialists.

The surplus land of big proprietors who did not betray the national cause should also be limited "in friendly fashion and taking into account the value of the land."

FREE LAND TO LANDLESS

The land should be redistributed free to landless poor peasants, to middle peasants with insufficient land (with priority for ex-servicemen of the Algerian Liberation Army and the families of those who died in the war) and also to "small farmers who are Algerian citizens of European origin who have insufficient land (giving priority to those who assisted the Algerian Liberation Army)".

It calls for the encouragement of genuine agricultural cooperatives. Certain big estates (notably the big vineyards producing good wines of which the export forms a big part of Algeria's national revenue) should become cooperatives or State farms run by agricultural workers and technicians.

The Programme's section on industrialisation calls for the nationalisation of Algeria's natural wealth, including the rich Sahara oil and natural gas deposits, coal, iron, phosphates etc.

In addition to the building of a heavy industry, which it sees as the basis of economic independence, the Programme proposes the extension of light industry, including controlled private enterprise, the encouragement of traditional and modern artisans' cooperatives and the extension of the country's road and rail system built up by the colonialists primarily to facilitate the country's exploitation and the rapid deployment of troops.

The Programme outlines a series of social measures, including steps to aid victims of the war, a fair wage policy of equal pay for equal work, the eight-hour day, health, education, housing and women's rights.

Underlining that progress depends upon "the total and enthusiastic mobilisation of our people", the Programme declares that "the first condition for this mobilisation is the conscious and resolute unity in action of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces within the nation.

"The Assembly on the basis of a common programme, should make itself into a Front of national organisations grouped together, respecting the autonomy of each organisation and within the framework of a common discipline.

"Many patriots and leaders of the National Liberation Front feel that this assembly should be one single party. What should be the programme and ideology of this one party? The attitude of the Algerian Communist Party will be determined by the reply to this question.

"The Algerian Communist Party is opposed to a single party based on nationalist bourgeois ideology. Such a party, even if its composition is popular, even if its leaders spring from the working class or the working peasantry, would sooner or later be the instrument for the domination of the working masses by the bourgeoisie, even if this bourgeoisie has not at the present moment a solid economic foundation in the country."

The Algerian Communist Party will be in favour of a single Party based on working class ideology if the political and social conditions are created, the Programme goes on, recalling the example of the United Socialist Party of Cuba.

"But whilst working for a single party formed on such a basis, and for the time when political and social conditions will be ripe for such a party, the Communist Party of Algeria does not support the suppression of parties reflecting the interests of anti-imperialist bourgeois or petit-bourgeois sections.

Abroad, the Programme advocates a policy of peaceful coexistence, non-adherence to military blocs (specifically excluding the use of the Algerian Sahara as a nuclear testing ground), solidarity with Morocco and Tunisia who are on the way to building a united Arab Maghreb based on anti-imperialism, democracy and social progress and cooperative and friendly relations with all countries, above all with the Socialist countries.

"Neither agrarian reform nor nationalisation will be sufficient to build socialism," it declares.

Socialism, it goes on, means:

- the social ownership of the principal means of production;
- the progressive collectivisation of agriculture;
- working class leadership of the national and progressive forces;
- the existence of a strong Marxist-Leninist Party.

"It is in order to lead our people, together with all Algerian patriotic and progressive forces, that our Party, conscious of its guiding role, has set out this programme and puts it before all Algerians, in this year which ought to be the start of new struggles for independence, for land and bread, for work and education, true democracy and the unlimited progress of our nation", it concludes.

Marx's Theory of the Alienation of the Worker

Since Marx's concept of socialism is closely related to the transformation of "alienated labor" into "free labor" it is useful to determine exactly how he conceived of these terms. In the first of four essays -- subsequently entitled the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts -- which were written between April and August 1844 (in other words early in his career, pre-dating even the Communist Manifesto), Karl Marx discusses in detail the question of alienation. In fact, the first of the four manuscripts bears the title, Alienated Labor. Marx begins the manuscript by accusing contemporary political economists of starting with the fact of private property rather than explaining it, of failing to show, that is, how the laws of political economy develop from the nature of private property. Marx concludes that "the only moving forces which political economy recognizes are avarice and the war between the avaricious, competition." Marx defines his task as one of demonstrating

"the real connection between this whole system of alienation -- private property, the separation of labor, capital and land, exchange and competition, value and the devaluation of man, monopoly and competition -- and the system of money."

In the process, he examines three types of alienation which occur in the production process.

In discussing man's relationship to external nature from which he lives (plant life, animal life, air, minerals etc.), Marx points out that the latter constitute a part of human consciousness as objects of natural science to be studied and as objects of creative activity to which man can give shape, proportion color etc. From the practical aspect also they constitute part of human life since man lives from nature's products in the form of food, fuel, clothing, housing etc. Thus external nature is the direct means of life and also the material object and instrument of life activity. According to Marx, "Conscious life activity distinguishes man from the life activity of animals" which are one with their life activity.

"Man makes his life activity itself an object of his will and consciousness. Only for this reason is his activity free activity. Alienated labor reverses the relationship, in that man, because he is a self-conscious being makes his life activity, his being, only a means for his existence."

Marx distinguishes three types of alienated labor. First of all, Alienation of the Worker from the Products of his Labor. Materialistically, Marx chooses to begin with what he terms a "contemporary economic fact," that is, that

"The worker /i.e. in this case the alienated worker of a modern industrial society/ becomes poorer the more wealth he produces /poorer, that is in his "humanness"/.... The devaluation of the human world increases in direct relation with the increase in value of the world of things. Labor not only creates goods; it also produces itself and worker as a commodity, in the same proportion as it produces goods.... The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, assumes that is an external existence, but that it exists independently, outside himself, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an autonomous power."

/The creation of the nuclear bomb might be used to illustrate a product which has assumed an external existence, alien to its creators and opposed to them as an "autonomous" power.7 Subsequently, Marx concludes: "Political economy conceals the alienation in the nature of labor insofar as it does not examine the direct relationship between the worker (work) and production." And, a bit later, "The direct relationship of labor to its products is the relationship of the worker to the objects of his production."

The second category of alienation distinguished by Marx is Alienation of the Worker in the Activity of Production. "Alienation appears not only in the result, but also in the process of production." What constitutes alienation of the production process?

"First, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature; and that, consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. External labor, labor in which man alienates himself, is a labor of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Finally, the external character of work for the worker is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person.... We arrive at the result that man (the worker) feels himself to be freely active only in his animal functions -- eating, drinking and procreating, or at most also in his dwelling and in personal adornment -- while in his human functions he is reduced to an animal."

Thirdly, in the process of production, the worker is also alienated from his "species life" /i.e. his identification as a human being/ since it transforms the very activity through which he should confirm his "humanness" into a means of physical existence. "Thus alienated labor turns the species life of man... into an alien being and into a means for his individual existence. It alienates man from his own body, external nature, his mental life and his human life." Marx summarizes: "A direct consequence of the alienation of man from the product of his labor, from his life activity and from his species life is that man is alienated from other men... What is true of man's relationship to his work, to this product of his work and to himself, is also true of his relationship to other men..." He then goes on to show that alienated labor in turn creates the alien person to whom the product of the alienated labor belongs, i.e. the "capitalist" (note that this is Marx's original definition).

"Through alienated labor the worker creates the relation of another man, who does not work and is outside the work process.... Private property /i.e. the objects created by alienated labor and which now belong to an alien being, the capitalist/ is thus derived from the analysis of the concept of alienated labor, alienated life, and estranged man."

The example which comes to mind as the embodiment of Marx's idea of "positive labor" is that of a thirteenth or fourteenth century goldsmith. Such a "laborer" would creatively and joyfully shape external nature (in the form of a golden metal) into an object in which he confirmed his "species being" and his basic identity (through art) with his fellow man, thus confirming in concrete form his human nature in such a way that he was not only able to fulfill himself in his work but would (if he were of the caliber of let us say Benvenuto Cellini of 16th Century Florence) contribute to "species image" of Western man for the next 500 years and more.

The Communist world has continued until the very recent past to deny that such a phenomenon as alienation could occur in a "socialist" state, and -- as the Soviet, Polish and Czech daily press bear witness -- has not found realistic or efficacious means for dealing with this important problem.

After a period of relative calm, recent weeks have again witnessed marked symptoms of deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations. At the 22nd CPSU Congress a year ago, the air rang with indirect attacks on Chinese policies, thinly disguised as attacks on Albania and the "Anti-Party Group." After the Chinese Communists responded by attacking Soviet policies at the December 1961 meeting of the World Peace Council in Stockholm and elsewhere, Khrushchev rejoined by turning the Chinese attacks on "full-belly socialism" against the Chinese themselves, saying on 5 March that certain people were "preaching equality in the spirit of the first Christian communities with their low standard of living and asceticism," and adding: "Communism cannot be depicted as a table with empty plates and occupied by highly conscious and completely equal people. To invite people to such Communism is tantamount to inviting people to eat soup with a fork." But in mid-March, Moscow Radio stopped attacking the Albanian leaders (except in broadcasts in Albanian, where the attacks ceased in early April) until early May, and with the exception of certain mid-May articles, there was an absence of polemic in the Soviet press until late June. Instead, in early April there was glowing Soviet comment on a joint Chinese-Soviet project on the Amur River and Pravda praised Chinese agronomists; on 20 April a Sino-Soviet protocol on goods exchanges was signed with a great display of politeness, although the Soviets appear to have offered no new credit. On the Chinese side, a series of articles in Red Flag attacking Soviet policies was interrupted from early March to late April, and in early July the principal Chinese delegate to the Moscow Peace Congress stated the Chinese position in moderate terms and praised Khrushchev personally. The Chinese also behaved moderately at the Youth Festival in Helsinki. There was minor static at intervals throughout this period, but nothing on the scale of that seen in the winter of 1961-2. It is possible that, behind the scenes, negotiations for a reconciliation were going on.

If there were any such negotiations, they must now be suspended, or at least in serious difficulty. Symptoms of friction and realignment include:

1. Chinese attacks on the doctrine of the priority of peaceful coexistence and general disarmament were made in Red Flag (1 August), at the 6th Congress of the WFDY (Warsaw, 10-16 August) and at the 7th Congress of the IUS (Leningrad, 18-29 August). The Red Flag article advocated the Chinese pattern of revolution for colonial and semi-colonial countries, while at Warsaw, Wang Cha-hua argued that disarmament was not the only, or the most important way to safeguard world peace. There and in Leningrad, the Chicoms maintained that the essential thing was to weaken imperialism, in particular through the national liberation movement; this would be the best way to secure world peace (!). A Moscow youth paper, Moskovsky Komsomolets, reacted by noting that "some students still underestimate the importance of the disarmament problem and have a wrong idea of the relationship between the struggle for national independence and general and complete disarmament."

2. On 25 September, Soviet officials reportedly said that the USSR / would close its two remaining consulates in China (Shanghai and Harbin); their activities are to be taken over by the Soviet Embassy in Peking. The Soviets claimed that the closure was based on reasons of economy, but the USSR has never been stingy when it could maintain listening posts in other countries, and there had been rumors on 20 September that the Chicoms had requested the closing of Soviet consulates. On 5 September, the Soviets also announced that the Chinese Ambassador was leaving Moscow for a new assignment; though the Embassy will continue to function under a charge d'affaires, it is interesting that the Chinese Ambassador did not (as did the West German Ambassador, Kroll) see Khrushchev before his departure. So far as is known, the present Soviet Ambassador in Peking has never been received by Mao Tse-tung.

3. According to a report in the New York Times (24 September), the Soviet theoretical journal Kommunist has now published an article warning revolutionaries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America against "unjustified over-zeal," saying that capitalist economic forms must be eliminated in a stage of "general democratic development" before newly independent states can be ripe for Communism: "Neglect of general democratic problems and undue haste may narrow the popular basis of Socialist revolution and compromise the noble idea of Socialism in the eyes of the masses." This amounts to a serious attack, not only on current Chicom policy, but also on China's own revolution.

Chinese People's Republic was celebrated in Peking, with hundreds of thousands of marchers passing the reviewing stand, but no important Soviet official observable in it. At a Chinese anniversary rally in Moscow, the highest Soviet representative was the Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, G. M. Pushkin. On 30 September, Chou En-lai renewed the Chinese attack on "modern revisionism," implicitly including Khrushchev as well as Tito in the charge, and maintained that efforts to "isolate" China would be fruitless. And at the anniversary ceremonies in Tirana, the Chinese delegation chief voiced Chinese opposition to "great power chauvinism i.e., Soviet chauvinism."

5. The visit of the Soviet titular chief of state, L. I. Brezhnev, has provoked new attacks on Yugoslavia from Peking and Tirana. On Brezhnev's arrival on 24 September, Belgrade Radio disclosed that the Soviet party included "Deputy of the Supreme Soviet Andropov." Andropov, whose first name and patronymic are Yuriy Vladimirovich, is also, and far more important, the chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries, as well as a former Soviet Ambassador to Hungary. He has frequently traveled to various satellite capitals. His presence is significant, in that it suggests that in addition to improving relations between the two countries at the state level, an attempt may be made for closer cooperation at the Party level as well. Brezhnev's visit, ostensibly at the head of a parliamentary group, may have resulted from another "parliamentary" visit in the opposite direction. Brezhnev's tour was announced on 10 July, shortly after a delegation of members of the Yugoslav Federal People's Assembly, headed by Petar Stambulic, toured the Soviet Union in the last week of June and the first week of July. Among the Yugoslav delegates was Dusan Mugosa, a Party leader in the Kosmet district, which is Yugoslavia's Albanian minority region; Mugosa was instrumental in organizing the Albanian Workers Party (the Albanian CP) after World War II. Recently, during Brezhnev's visit (on 30 September), Mugosa stated, in a speech reported by Borba, that communism in Albania was threatened by Hoxha and Shehu, and asserted that even Albanian Politburo members lacked confidence in them. These facts suggest that the Soviet Union may have given tacit consent to Yugoslav policies directed toward the overthrow of the Albanian regime and its replacement by one controlled by - or at least sympathetic to - the Yugoslav brand of "socialism." The presence of individuals like Andropov and Mugosa in delegations is often overlooked by non-Communists, but does not pass unnoticed by the veteran Party leaders in Peking and Tirana.

TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF ASIAN-AFRICAN PARLEY

The Asian-African conference, convened by the Governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, met in Bandung from the 18th to 24th of April, 1955.

In addition to the sponsoring countries, the following twenty-four countries participated in the conference:

Afghanistan, Cambodia, People's Republic of China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam, State of Vietnam and Yemen.

The Asian-African conference considered the position of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic cultural and political cooperation.

A. Economic Cooperation

1. The Asian-African conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic cooperation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty.

The proposals with regard to economic cooperation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital.

It was further recognized that assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region through international or under bilateral arrangements had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programs.

2. The participating countries agree to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of:

Expert, trainees, pilot projects, and equipment for demonstration purposes;

Exchange of know-how, and establishment of national and- where possible- regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

Development Funds Proposed

3. The Asian-African conference recommended:

The early establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development;

The allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries;

The early establishment of an international finance corporation, which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and

Encouragement of the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries insofar as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African conference recognized the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region.

The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

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5. The Asian-African conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.

Diversification Favored

6. The Asian-African conference further recommended:

Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw materials whenever economically feasible before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement be given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for the transit trade of landlocked countries.

7. The Asian-African conference attached considerable importance to shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates often to the detriment of participating countries.

It recommended a study of this problem and collective action thereafter to put pressure on the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude.

8. The Asian-African conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might finally lead to the formulation of a common policy.

Nuclear Energy Stressed

10. The Asian-African conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for the peaceful purposes for Asian-African countries.

The conference welcomed the initiative of the powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes;

Urged the speedy establishment of an international atomic energy agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the agency; and

Recommended that Asian and African governments take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programs.

11. The Asian-African conference agreed to the appointment of liaison officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national governments, for the exchange of information and matters of mutual interest.

It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organizations, and participating countries who were not members of such international organizations but were eligible should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. Cultural Cooperation:

1. The Asian-African conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations which have enriched other cultures and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process.

Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately, cultural contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries.

The people of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating governments at the conference reiterated their declaration to work for closer cultural cooperation.

The Asian-African conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa, in whatever form it may be, not only prevents cultural cooperation but also suppresses the national cultures of the peoples.

Basic Rights Found Denied

Some colonial powers have denied their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture, which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples.

This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed.

Similar discrimination has been practiced against African and Colored people in some parts of the Continent of Africa.

The conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural cooperation on the wide international plan.

The conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

In particular, the conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilizations and cultures that the conference viewed the development of cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries.

For World Cultural Ties

True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the conference believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions.

The conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions.

Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa, to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African conference felt that the promotion of cultural cooperation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

- a. The acquisition of knowledge of each other country;
- b. Mutual Cultural exchange; and
- c. Exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural cooperation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own wherever possible and feasible.

C. Human Rights and Self-Determination

1. The Asian-African conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

The conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a prerequisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights.

2. The Asian-African conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world.

Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilization and the dignity of man.

The conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustained their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims of the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

3. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

D. Problems of Dependent People:

1. The Asian-African conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The Asian-African conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations could assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

E. Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation:

1. The Asian-African conference, taking note of the fact that several states have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective cooperation for world peace membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those states which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter.

In the opinion of the Asian-African conference the following countries which were represented in it - Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal and unified Vietnam - were so qualified.

The conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region of the Security Council in relation to the principle of equitable geographic distribution was inadequate.

It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

Disarmament Proposed

The conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilization from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction.

It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty toward humanity and civilization to proclaim their support for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

The conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such prohibition and that speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end. Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, this conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The conference declared that universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction and to establish effective international control to this end.

3. The Asian-African conference supported the position of the Yemen in the case of Aden and the southern parts of Yemen known as the protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

F. Declaration of Problems of Dependent Peoples:

The Asian-African conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subject to what is stated in the following paragraph, the conference is agreed:

1. In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;
2. In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation;
3. In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples; and
4. In calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

G. Declaration of Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation:

The Asian-African conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and cooperation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war.

The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection all states should cooperate especially through the United Nations in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control.

In this way international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purpose. This would help answer the needs, particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples and freedom and independence must be granted with the least possible delay to those who are still dependent people.

Indeed all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Free from distrust and fear and with confidence and goodwill toward each other, nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for the fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6A. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

6B. Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interest and cooperation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

The Asian-African conference declares its conviction that friendly cooperation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security while cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

The Asian-African conference recommended that the full sponsoring countries should consider the next meeting of the conference in consultation with other countries concerned.

CPYRGHT

The Manila Times

Aug. 20, 1962

Editorial

Politics in the Jakarta's handling of Asian Games?

The Asiad, like the Olympiad, is an event dedicated as much to the promotion of world friendship as to the development of sports. Politics, at one time or another, has threatened to destroy the friendly spirit of these games but thus far responsible leaders have been able to keep it out. It will, therefore, be a most unfortunate thing if politics will now be able to undermine the Asian Games to be held in Jakarta, Indonesia, this month.

For several days now, the sports world has been watching with dismay the Indonesian organizing committee's handling of the Nationalist China case. One of the founders of the Asian Athletic Federation, which sponsors the Asian Games, and one of Asia's leading athletic powers, Nationalist China was invited to participate in the games this year, along with the Philippines and other Asian nations. On Aug. 4, the Chinese received what they had hoped would be entry forms for their athletes. When the package was opened, however, the Chinese found only blank cards. Efforts to clear up the mess received only a cold reply from the Indonesian sports minister that if the Chinese did not receive their cards, that was not the Indonesian committee's fault. It would first look for the "leak" before doing anything about the entry forms for the Chinese. Meanwhile, with only five days before the Asian Games opening on Friday, Aug. 24, the Chinese will have to wait.

It would seem that under the circumstances, the Indonesian committee would act with more dispatch to fac-

ilitate the arrival and participation of the Chinese in the Asian Games, if indeed third parties out to sabotage Nationalist China's participation are responsible for the blank cards. The half-hearted manner in which the Indonesian committee has been proceeding with this case, however, seems to support suspicions that Indonesia itself, which recognizes Red China, is succumbing to communist pressure to keep the Nationalists out of the games.

One other country — Israel — has yet to receive entry forms for her athletes. Inevitably this has been linked to Indonesia's inviting the United Arab Republic to join the Asian games — although the UAR is nowhere in Asia. It could be a coincidence but the Indonesians are doing little to dispel the suspicions.

Israel has threatened to petition for the disqualification of the Jakarta games if her athletes are not admitted. Nationalist China is poised to take similar action and has given the organizers until Wednesday to make their decision. There is still time to correct what has obviously been a mishandling of the invitations to the Asian Games. If, because of continued inaction by the organizers, Nationalist China and Israel are unable to participate, it will be a black mark on the Asiad as well as on the host country. All the countries, including the Philippines, whose athletes are now in Jakarta would do well to keep this in mind and take concrete steps to prevent this. If they fail they can always take remedial action after the games.



Rangoon, Burma

Friday, August 24, 1962

SPORTS & PRINCIPLES

It has been reported that Colonel Achmad Tirtosudiro, the Indonesian Chairman of the International Village for the Asian Games, welcomed the athletes by declaring, "Sports is really the main road towards the realization of those sacred ideals of friendship and brotherhood among all nations." This report is likely to provoke a certain amount of wry humour when viewed side by side with the concurrent knowledge that Indonesia is still frustrating attempts of two charter members of the Asian Games, Israel and Taiwan, to arrive in time to participate. All the vague statements by Indonesian officials cannot conceal why these two contingents are still cooling their heels if not their tempers. Peking has denounced the idea of Taiwanese participation as an effort to create "Two Chinas", whereas Cairo has at least been discreet enough to keep public statements to a minimum, presumably not to embarrass Djakarta as Peking is doing.

There are two basic issues involved. The China question is no doubt complicated, but the last Olympic Games solved that by insisting that the Taipei contingent participate under the name Taiwan. The indisputable fact is both Taiwan and Israel are Asian Games charter members in good standing, and both, it may be added, had received bona fide invitations to participate. It would seem that any question concerning their credentials would have been resolved when it was decided to issue the invitations. The second issue is more complex and unpleasant because it involves

nations who are *not* members of the Asian Games Federation interfering in the conduct of the Games.

President Sukarno's distress over the injection of politics into the Games is well known. He was reportedly displeased by Mr. Mikoyan's politically-charged speech when the Soviet Deputy Premier visited Djakarta to participate in the opening ceremonies for the magnificent new Sanajan Stadium. The Indonesian people are justly proud of the achievement manifested by the sports complex and other facilities completed for this year's Asian Games. It is unfortunate, however, to see this record tarnished by compromises with political expediencies. Countries like Burma, with their consistent adherence to objective and neutral principles, must surely be embarrassed. We are particularly embarrassed because Israel is one of

Burma's closest friends, and for us to participate in a contest from which Israel has been excluded for political or racial reasons can be interpreted by Israel as tacit Burmese approval of Djakarta's discrimination.

There are more than scruples involved, moreover. The International Amateur Athletic Federation may not recognize events from which IAAF members in good standing have been excluded, and it may also withdraw its recognition from nations that participate in such improper events. Let us hope therefore that it is not too late for Indonesia to realize that the Asian Games are meant to develop good sportsmanship to the exclusion of international politics. If Indonesia cannot own up to its responsibilities, it seems almost unavoidable that the other Federation members, Burma included, will have to seriously consider the unpleasant prospect of declining to participate.

Philippines Herald
Aug. 21, 1962

Asian Games Mess

CPYRGHT

THE FOURTH Asian Games are set to open this week in Jakarta under what, at the moment, appears most inauspicious circumstances. Israel seems momentarily out of the picture as the Israeli athletic delegation, now in Bangkok, cancelled yesterday its flight reservation for Jakarta, due to lack of identity cards and entry permits. The Nationalist Chinese delegation has been kept out for similar reasons. The Asian Games organizing committee has offered some lame excuses by way of justifying its indifference to the Nationalist Chinese and Israeli protests, but the motivations seem evident enough: the two delegations are being refused entry and participation for separate political reasons.

Dubious
Color

The injection of the political factor into what avowedly is a purely sporting competition has, needless to say, given the Fourth Asian Games a dubious color. Unless something is done to remedy the situation — and it still can be done between now and the formal opening of the Games on Aug. 24 — the precedent established in the forthcoming Games may ultimately spell the beginning of the end of the Asian Games Federation.

It is not hard to ascertain what

is causing these troubles. It is obvious to most observers that the reluctance of the organizing committee to admit Nationalist China, for instance, stems from the veiled threats that Communist China has directed to Indonesia, warning it on the "adverse" effects that Nationalist participation in the Games would have on Indon-Red Chinese relations. In the case of Israel, it appears equally evident that Indonesia feels it would antagonize the Arab bloc by approving Israeli participation.

Future
At Stake

These unseemly developments, attending an activity that heretofore has been carried out in the best traditions of friendly competition and on the basis that "no discrimination is allowed against any country or person on ground of colour, religion or politics," is most unfortunate, to say the least. But there is still time to make amends. The other members of the federation — the Philippines, included — must realize that they have as big and important a stake in the future of the Asian Games as Indonesia itself, and therefore must act swiftly to bring pressure to bear upon collective effort to straighten out the whole mess.

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

The Times of India
Wednesday, Aug. 29, 1962

IN PERSPECTIVE

Asian Gamesmanship

By VIDURA

It is a pity that sports organisers and the Governments which subsidise them one way or another are so often unworthy of the athletes and players over whom they exercise control. The fourth Asian Games in Jakarta could have been a brave witness to the brotherhood of man, a gentle reminder to the statesmen of this sorry world of nation States that while man may be a political animal, politics is not all. The Rome Olympiad was such a reminder. As one reads the despatches of the sports reporters in Jakarta who find themselves in the unaccustomed role of political correspondents, one remembers rather wistfully that at Rome the two Germans sent a single team. Signore Tambroni's Government, which fell on the eve of the Olympic games, had been propped up with neo-fascist support; but that had not prevented it from clearing the entry of the athletes from the Communist countries. Having provided all the physical facilities for the Olympiad at some considerable cost to the public exchequer, the Italian Government of the day quite rightly let the sports authorities get on with the job.

POLITICS

Had President Soekarno's regime adopted the same apolitical attitude, the Fourth Asian Games would have been a joyful thing to remember. As it is, the Jakarta meet is unlikely to go down in sports history by that name. The splendid performance of the athletes who are competing there at the moment is being marred by the cold intrusion of politics, the spotlight has shifted from the magnificent, new stadium in Jakarta—perhaps the finest in the world—to the committee rooms outside where a number of Asian sports authorities and the Indonesian Government are engaged in gamesmanship.

Both the superb facilities provided for the Jakarta games and the infliction of politics on the games are the result of the same cause: President Soekarno's belief that international sports is too serious a business to be left to sportsmen. To take the facilities first, one is quite overwhelmed as one reads what the Indonesian Government has provided, albeit with Russian aid. The main stadium, we are told, has accommodation under cover for 100,000 spectators—more than three times the capacity of the Brabourne Stadium. Then there is a stadium for hockey which can seat 25,000; the indoor stadium can accommodate 10,000; the swimming 'stadium' can hold 8,000 onlookers; the tennis stadium has a capacity of 6,000. Moreover, there are

separate centres for volleyball and basketball, each with a capacity of 4,000.

The residential facilities for the athletes are also equally impressive with masonettes, dining halls, restaurants and recreation centres. The whole architectural complex, designed as an integrated unit, covers some 600 acres. And a new luxury hotel, 14 storeys high, has been built to cater to the needs of tourists who may wish to live it up in Jakarta during and after the games. (Judging from photographs, the Ashoka is a shabby hotel compared with Hotel Indonesia, and one shudders to think what the Indian Government will do should the Asian Games return to New Delhi. It will not be easy to keep up with Indonesians.) But even the Senayan Stadium, large as it is, can hardly hold Jakarta's teeming millions. So, the Indonesian Government has very thoughtfully gone in for television, bought 10,000 TV sets and installed them in public places. The inaugural programme covered the opening ceremony of the Jakarta games.

We are told that 20,000 men, divided into three shifts, worked round the clock for more than two years to complete the Senayan Stadium in time for the games. Indeed, since February 1960, the Indonesian Government has given top priority to the preparation for the games, revealing unsuspected talent for purposeful action. The energy, not to speak of money, which has been expended by the Soekarno regime in preparing for the games must be a little dismaying even to those who read the sports columns before they glance at the front page.

TOP PROJECT

Having taken up the Fourth Asian Games as the nation's top project in the public sector, it is not at all surprising that the Indonesian Government should have regarded the whole affair as something indistinguishable from a political event, an athletic Bandung conference. It is one thing for a relatively affluent country like Italy or Australia (or, looking ahead to 1964, Japan) to provide facilities for an international athletic meet on a grand scale, and quite another for a relatively poor country like Indonesia to do so. In the case of the poorer countries extravagant expenditure of the kind indulged in by Indonesia is almost inevitably looked upon by the Government concerned as a political investment which, it then follows, must be tended not by the sports authorities but by the Government itself.

The main organiser of the Jakarta

games has been Minister for Information in the Indonesian Government since 1959 and, since the creation of the Ministry of Sport last March, he has also held the latter portfolio. This is not to suggest that Mr. Maladi is responsible for the intrusion of politics into the Jakarta games, but to stress that from the preparatory stage itself the games have been a Government show. If the Fourth Asian Games had been organised in a more modest way—and after all it is Spartan austerity rather than Roman opulence that one associates with track and field—it is not unlikely that the Indonesian Government would have identified itself less closely with the Jakarta games and left sports to sportsmen.

CONTROVERSY

To come to the controversy itself, the situation—as they say in politics—is rather confused. But going through the reports from Jakarta and reading between the lines, it is possible to reconstruct what has happened. The sports organisers of the games, quite properly invited all the member countries of the Federation, which includes Israel and Taiwan. At this point the political organisers of the games apparently decided that it would be a good thing if Egypt also participated, though it would mean stretching geography a bit to bring that part of Africa into Asia. Cairo readily accepted the invitation, perhaps partly because it would have been graceless to refuse and partly because the Gaza strip lies within Asia. The political organisers also thought that it would not be a good idea to play host to the KMT Chinese and the Israelis, on the fairly safe assumption that the participation of the former would be resented in Peking while that of the latter would be resented in the Arab capitals.

There is no reason to believe that Jakarta was afraid that the presence of the KMT Chinese and the Israeli athletes would have led to "incidents" on the field. Having withdrawn from the International Olympic Committee, Peking was in any case not taking part in the Jakarta games. As to the Israelis, they took part both in the Second Asian Games in Manila and in the Third Asian Games in Tokyo without sparking off any incidents. And while it is true that Jakarta does not have diplomatic relations with either Taiwan or Israel, this fact is irrelevant on the Indonesian Government's own admission. The main anxiety seems to have been to re-

lease Peking and the Arab capitals beyond the call of diplomatic duty even at the cost of violating both the spirit and the rules of the Asian games.

At this point the Indonesian authorities began to resort to gamesmanship, the art of winning without actually cheating. Having sent out the invitations to Taiwan and Israel,

they also sent out the identity cards which the participating athletes required for entering Indonesia. But strangely enough the cards received in Israel and Taiwan were quite blank. Jakarta now maintains that they were not blank when they were despatched. Something must have happened along the way. One does not require Hercule Poirot's little grey cells to unravel the mystery of the blank identity cards.

Then things began to move rapidly. The Secretary of the International Amateur Athletic Federation warned Indonesia that "if Israel is excluded for political reasons the games will not be officially licensed." But for some curious reason he did not specifically object to the exclusion of Taiwan. He also held out the threat that those who took part in the Jakarta games under these conditions might be debarred from taking part in any future meet licensed by the IAAF, for instance the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. The Chancellor of the International Olympic Committee contented himself with the statement that if Taiwan and Israel were excluded, the Olympic Flag could not be flown during the Jakarta games. Meanwhile the Asian Games Federation declared that its rules must be observed.

A number of countries, including Japan and India, played with the idea of withdrawing from the games but only South Korea has in the event done so. Now there is a proposal that the Fourth Asian Games should be called by some other name, so that the participants do not attract the IAAF's disciplinary action. But this, too, is an exercise in gamesmanship, since it does not answer the basic questions raised by the exclusion of Taiwan and Israel on clearly political grounds. When this is said one thing remains to be emphasised: the athletes on the spot have done well to take part in the games and give of their best. It would have been unsporting to disappoint and so punish the people of Indonesia for the follies of their Government. Jakarta for its part should have the grace even at this late stage to agree to a change in the designation of the games. Not to do so would be gross ingratitude to the athletes who have risked disciplinary action and in the process saved President Soekarno's face.

LONDON TIMES

28 August 1962

Very Unsporting

The Indonesians, who like nothing more than acting as host to pan-Asian gatherings, are the latest people to find that the world of sport has its political problems. News from Jakarta, where the fourth Asian games opened last Friday, is not of records broken or of athletics at all but of bitter cold-war argument. This has arisen because teams of competitors from Formosa and Israel have not been admitted by the Indonesians — the Formosans lest Peking's wrath would mean withdrawal of mainland Chinese participation, and the Israelis for fear of offending the Arab world by an act of recognition. Though both cases are cited by those who are objecting, it is Formosa that is being made the issue. Every committee and federation involved is finding itself drawn in. Charges are made that these games have lost their official status by this act of discrimination.

It is a sad story, though not a new one. For weeks past the "American imperialist plot" to insinuate the Formosa team has displaced other international issues in the Peking newspapers. The Chinese argument is over legitimacy and it has a long history. Whenever rival Emperors existed in the past the Chinese historians have always given their verdict on who was legitimate and who not. The battle between the mainland and Formosa is precisely the same. To admit the appearance of the rival government, even as an athletic team, is to concede the one point on which Peking insists: its sole legitimacy as the government of China. It will not be the last time when China will be intransigent, nor the last time when Asian countries which recognize one or the other government will find themselves in the same corner as the Indonesians. The principle of keeping politics out of sport is a western idea which many Asian countries may like to cherish. But the Chinese have their own traditions and insist on their own rules.

HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 August 1962

Djakarta's Disgrace

The Council of the Asian Games Federation has saved the day for the Olympic ideal by its condemnation of the Indonesian Olympic Committee for its failure to secure the participation of Taiwan and Israel in the current Asian Games at Djakarta. This is the least that the Federation could do at once against a most flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Federation Charter. The Indonesian Olympic Committee, it appears, accepts the censure but pleads that it has done its best. This is another way of saying that the blame really belongs to the Indonesian Government. The Government at Djakarta has throughout behaved in an equivocal manner. If it had announced in a forthright manner that it did not want

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Page 12

Friday, August 31, 1962

Editorials**Asian Games Meddling Sets Back Peiping U.N. Bid**

COMMUNIST China, which has definitely succeeded in "unseating" Nationalist China from the Fourth Asian Games — and the Games along with it, in a manner of speaking — is expected to make a similar attempt for the umpteenth time in the United Nations general assembly when it opens its annual regular session next month. As in the case of the Jakarta games, the Peiping government, as usual, will try to pull strings in the effort to get in. If it succeeds, it will amount to a double victory in more senses than the obvious. The other sense is that it will force the unseating of Nationalist China in the U.N., for the Taipei government would not even dream of being in the same body with Red China.

All this being mere speculation and conjecture. The fact of the matter is that the Communist Chinese are farther than ever — if not much more so now — from a seat in the U.N. Especially after the their behind-the-scenes performance in Jakarta which, in effect, served a powerful warning to other nations what the Chinese brand of communist obstructionism and trouble-making can be capable of accomplishing, say, in the U.N. In any case, it should now dawn upon most of the members of the world organization that they have

enough of this kind of obstructionism and trouble-making as it is, without having to take in more of the same from another source.

For one thing, there seem to be some indications that Soviet Russia won't be as keen this year as it had been during the past ten, in getting its bloc partner in. Russia, incidentally, is also one of those which have not been entirely impressed by Red China's machinations in the Jakarta games. And then there's the worsening trouble between Red China and India over

Thanks To Red China

their common borders. India had been invariably the loyal and persistent sponsor of Peiping's entry bid into the U.N. On top of this, there are the newly-independent African nations, most of them pro-West, which expectedly cannot be depended upon to support Red China's bid.

In a sense, then, Red China's vicious meddling in the Asian Games has been a definite blessing to the free world. It has proven beyond all doubts that the Chinese communists have not outgrown their bad manners and deplorable ways. The U.N. can still only expect trouble from a Red Chinese "presence." Thanks to the Chinese communists themselves, the U.N. will not have much trouble deciding on the Red China entry bid this year.

the inclusion of Taiwan and Israel, no doubt the Asian Games Federation would have called off the Djakarta Games. Instead, Djakarta chose to be evasive and sought to and finally prevented the participation of Taiwan and Israel by devious means. Djakarta has brought the disgrace of violating the Olympic code on itself because of political reasons. Of that there can be no doubt. The Asian Games Federation

had a most difficult decision whether to allow the Games to go on at all. It has reluctantly allowed them to go on. But quite obviously the censure of the Indonesian Olympic Committee cannot be its last word on the subject. When the present Games are over, some further action must be considered if only to save the Asian Games, which were initiated in this country, from disintegration.

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

The Times of India
Wednesday, Aug. 20, 1962

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Both the superb facilities provided for the Jakarta games and the infliction of politics on the games are the result of the same cause: President Soekarno's belief that international sports is too serious a business to be left to sportsmen. To take the facilities first, one is quite overwhelmed as one reads what the Indonesian Government has provided, albeit with Russian aid. The main stadium, we are told, has accommodation under cover for 100,000 spectators—more than three times the capacity of the Brabourne Stadium. Then there is a stadium for hockey which can seat 25,000; the indoor stadium can accommodate 10,000; the swimming 'stadium' can hold 8,000 onlookers; the tennis stadium has a capacity of 6,000. Moreover, there are

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they also sent out the identity cards which the participating athletes required for entering Indonesia. But strangely enough the cards received in Israel and Taiwan were quite blank. Jakarta now maintains that they were not blank when they were despatched. Something must have happened along the way. One does not require Hercule Poirot's little grey cells to unravel the mystery of the blank identity cards.

Then things began to move rapidly. The Secretary of the International Amateur Athletic Federation warned Indonesia that "if Israel is excluded for political reasons the games will not be officially licensed." But for some curious reason he did not specifically object to the exclusion of Taiwan. He also held out the threat that those who took part in the Jakarta games under these conditions might be debarred from taking part in any future meet licensed by the IAAF, for instance the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. The Chancellor of the International Olympic Committee contented himself with the statement that if Taiwan and Israel were excluded, the Olympic Flag could not be flown during the Jakarta games. Meanwhile the Asian Games Federation declared that its rules must be observed.

A number of countries, including Japan and India, played with the idea of withdrawing from the games but only South Korea has in the event done so. Now there is a proposal that the Fourth Asian Games should be called by some other name, so that the participants do not attract the IAAF's disciplinary action. But this, too, is an exercise in gamesmanship, since it does not answer the basic questions raised by the exclusion of Taiwan and Israel on clearly political grounds. When this is said one thing remains to be emphasised: the athletes on the spot have done well to take part in the games and give of their best. It would have been unsporting to disappoint and so punish the people of Indonesia for the follies of their Government. Jakarta for its part should have the grace even at this late stage to agree to a change in the designation of the games. Not to do so would be gross ingratitude to the athletes who have risked disciplinary action and in the process saved President Soekarno's face.

LONDON TIMES

28 August 1962

Very Unsporting

The Indonesians, who like nothing more than acting as host to pan-Asian gatherings, are the latest people to find that the world of sport has its political problems. News from Jakarta, where the fourth Asian games opened last Friday, is not of records broken or of athletics at all but of bitter cold-war argument. This has arisen because teams of competitors from Formosa and Israel have not been admitted by the Indonesians — the Formosans lest Peking's wrath would mean withdrawal of mainland Chinese participation, and the Israelis for fear of offending the Arab world by an act of recognition. Though both cases are cited by those who are objecting, it is Formosa that is being made the issue. Every committee and federation involved is finding itself drawn in. Charges are made that these games have lost their official status by this act of discrimination.

It is a sad story, though not a new one. For weeks past the "American imperialist plot" to insinuate the Formosa team has displaced other international issues in the Peking newspapers. The Chinese argument is over legitimacy and it has a long history. Whenever rival Emperors existed in the past the Chinese historians have always given their verdict on who was legitimate and who not. The battle between the mainland and Formosa is precisely the same. To admit the appearance of the rival government, even as an athletic team, is to concede the one point on which Peking insists: its sole legitimacy as the government of China. It will not be the last time when China will be intransigent, nor the last time when Asian countries which recognize one or the other government will find themselves in the same corner as the Indonesians. The principle of keeping politics out of sport is a western idea which many Asian countries may like to cherish. But the Chinese have their own traditions and insist on their own rules.

HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 August 1962 CPYRGHT

Djakarta's Disgrace

The Council of the Asian Games Federation has saved the day for the Olympic ideal by its condemnation of the Indonesian Olympic Committee for its failure to secure the participation of Taiwan and Israel in the current Asian Games at Djakarta. This is the least that the Federation could do at once against a most flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Federation Charter. The Indonesian Olympic Committee, it appears, accepts the censure but pleads that it has done its best. This is another way of saying that the blame really belongs to the Indonesian Government. The Government at Djakarta has throughout behaved in an equivocal manner. If it had announced in a forthright manner that it did not want

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Friday, August 31, 1962

Editorials**Asian Games Meddling Sets Back Peiping U.N. Bid**

COMMUNIST China, which has definitely succeeded in "unseating" Nationalist China from the Fourth Asian Games — and the Games along with it, in a manner of speaking — is expected to make a similar attempt for the umpteenth time in the United Nations general assembly when it opens its annual regular session next month. As in the case of the Jakarta games, the Peiping government, as usual, will try to pull strings in the effort to get in. If it succeeds, it will amount to a double victory in more senses than the obvious. The other sense is that it will force the unseating of Nationalist China in the

Wistful Conjecture

U.N., for the Taipei government would not even dream of being in the same body with Red China.

All this being mere speculation and conjecture. The fact of the matter is that the Communist Chinese are farther than ever — if not much more so now — from a seat in the U.N. Especially after the their behind-the-scenes performance in Jakarta which, in effect, served a powerful warning to other nations what the Chinese brand of communist obstructionism and trouble-making can be capable of accomplishing, say, in the U.N. In any case, it should now dawn upon most of the members of the world organization that they have

enough of this kind of obstructionism and trouble-making as it is, without having to take in more of the same from another source.

For one thing, there seem to be some indications that Soviet Russia won't be as keen this year as it had been during the past ten, in getting its bloc partner in. Russia, incidentally, is also one of those which have not been entirely impressed by Red China's machinations in the Jakarta games. And then there's the worsening trouble between Red China and India over

Thanks To Red China

their common borders. India had been invariably the loyal and persistent sponsor of Peiping's entry bid into the U.N. On top of this, there are the newly-independent African nations, most of them pro-West, which expectedly cannot be depended upon to support Red China's bid.

In a sense, then, Red China's vicious meddling in the Asian Games has been a definite blessing to the free world. It has proven beyond all doubts that the Chinese communists have not outgrown their bad manners and deplorable ways. The U.N. can still only expect trouble from a Red Chinese "presence." Thanks to the Chinese communists themselves, the U.N. will not have much trouble deciding on the Red China entry bid this year.

The inclusion of Taiwan and Israel, no doubt the Asian Games Federation would have called off the Djakarta Games. Instead, Djakarta chose to be evasive and sought to and finally prevented the participation of Taiwan and Israel by devious means. Djakarta has brought the disgrace of violating the Olympic code on itself because of political reasons. Of that there can be no doubt. The Asian Games Federation

had a most difficult decision whether to allow the Games to go on at all. It has reluctantly allowed them to go on. But quite obviously the censure of the Indonesian Olympic Committee cannot be its last word on the subject. When the present Games are over, some further action must be considered if only to save the Asian Games, which were initiated in this country, from disintegration.

The Times of India

Disgraceful --

THE Indonesian Government cannot be wholly absolved of responsibility for Monday's disgraceful attack on the Indian Embassy in Djakarta by a mob of several thousand Indonesians. Djakarta will no doubt express regret to New Delhi over the incident, and the apologies diplomatically offered must be diplomatically accepted. But no one in this country will be taken in by such customary exchanges which conceal what really happened. However "spontaneous" the demonstration, it is not easy for so many people to gather without giving the authorities concerned a fairly clear idea of the shape of things to come. The Indonesian soldiers who finally pushed back the howling mob could surely have prevented the mischief-makers from entering the Embassy grounds. In the event, the mob tore down shutters, broke up furniture and even tried to tear down the Indian flag from the Embassy mast before the soldiers took effective action. The whole incident is a serious affront to the people of this country, and despite any official apologies the disgraceful conduct of the demonstrators will not be easily forgotten. And it is not merely the curious failure of the Indonesian authorities to keep the demonstrators out of the Embassy compound which exposes Djakarta to criticism. To some extent, official spokesmen of the Indonesian Government are responsible for creating the anti-Indian atmosphere which made so large and violent a demonstration possible. Last Friday, Indonesia's Trade Minister, Dr. Soeharto, went so far as to announce that he had instructed his Ministry to refrain from entering into a new trade relations with India "pending further developments around Mr. Sondhi's activities." The Indian Ambassador in Djakarta quite rightly described Dr. Soeharto's statement as "really surprising and shocking," but strangely enough a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi reacted meekly by saying that the Government of India completely dissociated itself from the statements and activities of Mr. G. D. Sondhi.

Since Mr. Sondhi's statements in Djakarta have been made in his capacity of senior vice-president of the Asian Games Federation and since he is certainly not a government official, it is unnecessary for the Indian Government either to endorse or dissociate itself from his statements and activities. By saying that it dissociates itself, New Delhi has created the impression that in its view Mr. Sondhi is up to no good in Djakarta. But the fact is that Mr. Sondhi has adopted a scrupulously correct stand, the

JAPAN TIMES
6 Sept. 62

Was Djakarta Meet Real Asian Games?

DJAKARTA (UPI)—The fourth Asian Games was history Wednesday, as far as the athletes were concerned. But the politicians have just begun to fight. The curtain rang down on the tumultuous athletic event at 7:20 p.m. Djakarta time with a plea for brotherhood from Asian Games Federation president Hamengku Buwono IX. As the last athletes departed from Djakarta, four vexing questions remained to plague Asia's diplomats and athletic officials the world over. First of all: Was it really the "Asian Games?" G. D. Sondhi, Indian vice president of the Asian Games Federation didn't think so. Charging that Indonesia violated the rules of the AGF by barring Nationalist China and Israel from competition, Sondhi offered a motion to remove the title from the Djakarta event. But the federation shelved his motion, and postponed any decision on the matter until next February. Instead, a two-man commission was set up to investigate the complaints of Israel and the Taiwan Chinese. It will report back to a meeting of the AGF in February. The investigators will be South Korea's Lee Sang Beck and Burma's Kyaw Min. Then comes one of the sorest question of all: What to do about Asian track athletes who participated in the games despite a direct warning not to by the International Amateur Athletic Federation? In theory, every track athlete who took part in the games can be banned from further international competition by the IAAF. The ban could even keep the offending tracksters out of the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo. Korea abided by the IAAF's instructions, and dutifully pul-

led its track team out of the Djakarta show.

But if the IAAF carries its punishment as far as banning the Djakarta competitors from the Olympics, such major Far Eastern nations as India and the Philippines would have to be sidelined—not to mention the track team of host Japan.

Finally, the Japanese themselves pose the fourth big problem generated at Djakarta.

Japanese track men competed despite specific instructions from the country's top amateur athletic officials in Tokyo that they pack up and come home. The decision was overruled by Japanese officials on the scene.

Japan's track aces went back to Tokyo clutching their gold medals only to find themselves in the midst of a raging political controversy.

The Yomiuri newspaper said the games were "besmirched" with politics. Other commentators charged that Japan had passed up a chance to assert its leadership in Asian affairs.

As an athletic event, the Djakarta games were a crushing demonstration of Japan's superiority over the rest of Asia in sports. The Japanese athletes won 73 gold medals, and might have picked up even more had the first line swimming team been sent to the games.

But although Asian Games track marks fell daily in Djakarta, the times and distances were far below the standards of the Western nations. They indicated Asia has a long way to go to make its mark at the 1964 Olympics.

Another undecided question is whether the new records set at Djakarta really are "Asian Games records."

That won't be decided until the February meeting at which the AGF takes up the question of whether the Djakarta games were really the "Asian Games."

only one consistent both with sportsmanship and with the rules of the Asian Games Federation, on the issue of the exclusion of Israel and Taiwan from the Djakarta Games. His proposal that the designation of the Games should be changed so as to protect the participating athletes from any disciplinary action by the International Amateur Athletic Federation shows a concern for the athletes which should indeed be shared by

the Indonesian authorities. Mr. Sondhi has not asked for New Delhi's support. But he has every right to expect that the Indian Government will at least not range itself against him. Meanwhile, Mr. Sondhi should be assured that his courageous stand against the intrusion of politics into sports has the full support of every sportsman worth the name.

—Bombay, India
Sept. 4, 1962

NY TIMES
7 Sept. 62

Asian Games Rift Cuts Even Deeper Into Indonesia's

By ROBERT TRUMBULL

Special to The New York Times.

HONG KONG, Sept. 6—Polit-

ical disturbances attending the recent international sports competitions in Jakarta appear to have undercut seriously Indonesia's already low prestige in neighboring Asian states.

Editorial comments on Indonesia's controversial management of the Jakarta games, in which athletes from seventeen nations participated, have been the failure of Indonesian authorities to furnish required travel documents for teams from Nationalist China and Israel.

One reason for Indonesia's tarnish reputation, even before the recent episode has been them. Jakarta has no diplomat. President Sukarno's comportment on his frequent and extensive world tours. This has

made him the object of personal derision in many capitals.

An important political result

of the Jakarta games has been that the traditional friendship between Indonesia and India is threatened. The Jakarta Government's only gain from its controversial actions appears to be the chance of improving its standing with Communist China, which has applauded Indonesian policies, criticized almost everywhere else.

The controversy began with the failure of Indonesian authorities to furnish required travel documents for teams from Nationalist China and Israel. As a result of this action, the

Asian Games Federation may

remove the title "Fourth Asian Games" from the Jakarta edition.

tests when the federation's

in Bangkok, Thailand. Recognition of the games has been withdrawn already by several world sports organizations.

International censure of Indonesia grew with violent demonstrations against India, whose representative on the Asian Games Council, G. D. Sondhi, had led the opposition to the exclusion of Nationalist China and Israel. According to eyewitness accounts, demonstrators who invaded and damaged the Indian Embassy appeared to have been organized by the Indonesian Government.

Several fights and walkouts with accompanying accusations of bias by Indonesian of-

Prestige

ficials, marred the games. The Indian team was jeered at the closing ceremony.

These incidents led to statements censuring Indonesia in the Indian Parliament. Earlier, the Indonesian Trade Minister announced that commerce with India would be curtailed because of criticism of the games by New Delhi representatives.

Peiping Role Charged

Observers noted that Communist China had openly brought pressure upon the Indonesian Government to bar Nationalist China from the games. Arab states were reported to have urged the banning of Israel.

Prime Minister Nehru of India observed in Parliament that he

JAPAN TIMES

7 Sept. 62

CPYRGHT

Peiping Backs Djakarta In Bid for Sports Body

By The Associated Press

Communist China Wednesday said it fully supports an Indonesian proposal to form an Afro-Asian sports organization "with the new emerging forces at its core."

This was a reference to Indonesian Trade Minister Suharto's Aug. 28 declaration that Indonesia should boycott future Asian Games and form a new organization which would exclude Nationalist China. He said it would be made up of the progressive emerging forces of Asia.

He presumably meant it to include Red China and other Communist nations in Asia.

Suharto's proposal was followed Sept. 3 by call from the "1945 revolutionary" in Djakarta for an Afro-Asian sports organization and the holding of Afro-Asian games.

The "1945 Revolutionary" made up of President Sukarno's associates in the revolution

against the Netherlands, said it hoped Indonesia would sponsor the first Afro-Asian games.

"The Chinese people and their sports circles fully support this proposal," the Peiping People's Daily official organ of the Communist Party, said in an editorial broadcast by Peiping.

The paper expressed Peiping's official "admiration and gratitude to President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government and people" for having barred Nationalist China from the now-ended fourth Asian Games.

At the same time, it attacked G. D. Sondhi, a senior Indian vice-president of the Asian Games Federation, as "a U.S. imperialist agent" whose "impudent, disgraceful efforts" to wreck the Asian Games, impair the prestige of Indonesia and that of its leader, President Sukarno, and split Asian sports circles have aroused the indignation of the Indonesian people.

CPYRGHT

Communists had a part in encouraging anti-Indian demonstrations in Jakarta. India and Communist China are involved in a bitter border dispute.

The athletic calibre of the games suffered from the absence of C. K. Yang, Nationalist Chinese runner-up to Rainer Johnson of the United States in the decathlon event at the 1960 Olympics. Mr. Yang would have been the only performer of world reputation participating.

The meet was won handily by the Japanese team, even though Japan's best swimmers were competing in the United States at the time. None of the winning track and field marks set at Jakarta came near the standards of top competition in the West.

CPYRGHT

Washington Post
7 Sept. 62

Athletes and Politicians

Indonesia should be roundly spanked for allowing the Fourth Asian Games to become a sordid exercise in violence, ill will and political idiocy. The rabid eagerness of the Communist Chinese and the Arab nations to freeze out Nationalist China and Israel, whose part was taken by India, cannot be condoned. But for the host to acquiesce in these intrigues, and to permit if not to provoke a mob assault on India's embassy in Djakarta, is a sad reflection on its judgment and maturity. Under the circumstances, we hardly know whether to credit Indonesian policy or sportsmanship for the mass boing which India's victorious soccer team received as the Games, at last, ended.

Perhaps it is naive to believe that politics has no place in sports and that the spectacle of nations prancing and pawing at each other recedes before the spectacle of individual skill and courage and fellowship. We so believe, despite the lengthening list of contests spoiled by politicians who exploit athletes as cold-war pawns. We would rather junk these travesties than submit to another display like the Games in Djakarta. Happily, the athletes there set a high mark in sportsmanship, ignoring the acrimony that swirled around them. The Japanese, by the way, won.

THE ECONOMIST SEPTEMBER 15, 1962

Gold Medal for "Bung Karno"

FROM OUR HONGKONG CORRESPONDENT

THE beautiful friendship between China and Indonesia, so grievously strained two years ago, with unworthy words on both sides, was affectionately consolidated last month on the playing fields of Djakarta. The Asian Games—held in a Russian-built stadium for visitors who stayed in a Japanese-built hotel and who travelled in Australian-aid buses along a highway built with American aid—may not have enhanced Indonesia's reputation for sportsmanship. But the chicanery which resulted in the exclusion of Nationalist China was a ringing reaffirmation of renewed trust and understanding between President Soekarno and Chairman Mao. "Bung Karno" ("Big Brother" Soekarno) certainly earned a gold medal from Peking.

There is no hard evidence here to indicate whether Peking or Indonesia took the initiative in excluding Formosa, whether Peking used strong pressure from the outset, or whether the Indonesians, in their anxiety to please, anticipated Chairman Mao's wishes.

On the record, it was about time for President Soekarno to make a gesture of sorts to Chairman Mao. Since the uproar about overseas Chinese in Java and Peking's subsequent retreat, the Chinese Communists have been both generous and gracious to Indonesia. It requires an effort now to recall that only two years ago relations between Indonesia and China were as bad as relations between India and China today. Dr Soekarno's anti-Chinese directives, mirroring the customary south-east Asian resentment against the local influence and success of hard-working Chinese traders and storekeepers, had caused much hardship and loss to the Chinese in Java. Peking spoke angrily of "vicious discrimination" as the Indonesian army and police banned Chinese from retail trading in rural areas and began forcibly to evict Chinese from their homes. Peking, it is clear in retrospect, overplayed its hand by urging the Chinese in Indonesia to defy and even resist the Indonesian government.

Mr Huang Chen, the Chinese ambassador, and his staff addressed meetings and intervened between evicted Chinese and the Indonesian authorities, who, in a characteristic Indonesian reaction, at once responded with tougher methods, culminating in the Tjinhah incident, in July 1960, when two Chinese women were shot to death. At the same time, Peking recklessly invited all Chinese

who were suffering hardship in Indonesia to return to the motherland and "take part in the glorious work of socialist reconstruction."

This invitation was an embarrassing success: 14,000 were repatriated in five months, and tens of thousands more applied. Peking, lacking sufficient shipping to carry the repatriates and enough food and accommodation for them on arrival, quietly applied its own discrimination and accepted only skilled technicians or students.

The powerful Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was in despair. Compelled to go along with Chairman Mao, it found itself compromising its close association with Indonesian nationalist aspirations. Its suspicious and formidable critics, including army leaders, were able to argue that the disloyal communists were conspiring with Chinese aliens and with the Peking government against the Indonesian people and government. The secretary-general of the PKI, Mr D. N. Aidit, made anguished representations to Peking to drop a lost fight and improve relations with Indonesia at all costs.

Peking's flexibility in crisis can be very realistic. Suddenly in 1961, discord was forgotten; the affable foreign minister, Mr Chen Yi (who had been invited in 1959), arrived in Indonesia; the glorious indestructible friendship of the Chinese and Indonesian peoples was joyously affirmed. China, it transpired, was enchanted with President Soekarno's "dual nationality" formula for discrimination against Chinese aliens. A Sino-Indonesian friendship treaty was signed; China pledged economic aid, and Chairman Liu Shao-chi himself was invited to visit Indonesia. Then, in June last year, President Soekarno revisited Peking, where he dismissed the previous unpleasantness as "a small dispute between brothers" and deftly applied the screws to translate aid promises into fact. China is now committed to a \$30 million programme of technical aid for Indonesian textiles on the liberal terms of two per cent over 12 years.

It may be assumed that, having managed to extricate themselves from one dangerous contretemps, the Chinese communists are resolved to avoid any further discord with Indonesia, since discord can serve only to benefit Soviet comrades and western enemies. Asia is China's zone of communist influence, and Soviet aid, even if it cannot be matched, can at least be partly offset. According to private diplomatic reports from Peking, China will be expanding its economic aid to Indonesia on the pattern of its current assistance for Indonesian textiles, which, apart from political considerations, does represent a reasonable investment repayable in sterling or other convertible currency.

Mr Liu Shao-chi has yet to fulfil his formal acceptance of the 1961 invitation to visit Indonesia. If he comes, it will not only be his first venture outside the Sino-Soviet block, but also the first visit by a Chinese communist head of state to a non-communist country.

CPYRGHT

NY TIMES

9 September 1962

Debasing the Asian Games

The fourth Asian Games in Jakarta have ended after the kind of unpleasantness that so often accompanies the mixing of sports with politics.

The charter of the Games, derived from that of the World Olympics, forbids discrimination against any person or country for racial, religious or political reasons. But Indonesia, for political reasons, failed to invite two charter members of the Games, Nationalist China and Israel. Jakarta, which has no relations with either country, bowed to pressure from Peking and the Arab capitals in withholding bids.

The International Amateur Athletic Federation withdrew recognition of the Games; the International Olympics Committee canceled its patronage, and a number of weightlifting teams at the Games declined to take part after the

International Weightlifting Federation said they would be disqualified for Olympics competition if they participated. When G. D. Sondhi, Indian, senior vice president of the Games, proposed changing the name of the sports meeting in order to get around the matter of charter violation in the invitations, infuriated Indonesians—unhindered by police—pillaged the Indian Embassy in Jakarta.

Indonesia spent two years and many precious millions of rupiahs preparing for the Games, and Russia helped by building an impressive stadium to accommodate them. Now Indonesia has destroyed the Games' nonpolitical character and has debased their ideal. As Mr. Sondhi said, the corruption of the Games should be "a warning to any and every country against government dictation in sports."

CPYRGHT

THE MANILA BULLETIN

Sept. 14, 1962

'Sportpolitics' RAMPANT CHEATING IN JAKARTA BARED

By ERNIE SINGSON
(Fourth of a series)

It would have been a welcome change of pace, after Indonesia's tragic introduction of "sportpolitics," to write about the grandeur of the stadium complex, the clean and healthy (if dusty) atmosphere in the village, the new and many big buses, small buses and taxis acquired for this show of shows, the honest sweat many Indonesians poured into planning, organization and implementation, the earnest young students who honed their English and French on the delegates as they went about their driving, liaison and guiding, chores with smiles, the dazzling fire works, the likes of which have never been seen in Manila, the colorful and sinuous (if overlong) folk dances of a thousand costumed natives and the tender and melodic Indonesian songs that sounded Hawaiian and Visayan at the same time and brought nostalgia to the Filipinos. For these, more than the games, achieved the aim of bringing Asian spirits together.

It would have been a pleasant task to sing paeans to the heroes, both the victors and the fallen — to marvelous Mona Sulaiman, the greatest athlete of them all and yet the baby of the lot; to Pakistan's Abdul Khaliq and the Philippines' own Inocencia Solis, formerly Asia's fastest human beings who might have run their last 100 meters in Jakarta; to the oh-so-confident Japanese in every sport; to the proud and intrepid Indian soccer football players who braved the scorn of an artificially-aroused multitude to win the championship, accept the medals to the accompaniment of jeers and join the opening ceremonies with heads held high; to the Philippines' own Asian champion cagers, who played foolish basketball to scare even the coach in preliminary games, but who came through with the biggest margin of victory against the most-touted challenger (Japan). For these young men and women, born of many races and many creeds in many lands, are the be-all and end-all of international sportsfests.

At least, they should have been in Jakarta, except that the thunder of their feats

were stolen by the whims of the games managers, who now stand accused of cheating.

Consider the following incidents, for instance:

1. **The tennis mismatches.** They refused to seed the Philippines behind Japan in the women's team matches. As host, Indonesia was seeded. So they bracketed the Philippines with Japan and Japan with one other country. Indonesia was alone in the other bracket, because they refused to redraw despite the failure of two other countries in Indonesia's bracket to send players.

The result: After winning over one country, the Philippines had to tangle with Japan immediately and, expectedly, lost. Indonesia, which could not have beaten the pair of Desi Ampon and Pat Yngayo even in dreams, did not have to play a single match before facing Japan; and this for the title too. So Indonesia got the silver medal and the Philippines settled for the bronze.

2. **Misguided Hoopla.** The Philippines had to beat three teams in its bracket to qualify for the six-team final round. Indonesia only played against one team in the preliminary round and only for the record as they were the only teams in the bracket and were automatically qualified.

3. **Fictionized Record.** The basketball committees were peeved at the Nationalist Chinese hoopsters for not arriving before the start of the games, knowing only too well that they could not because the Indonesian government would not let them. The committee threatened to scratch them. On second thought, they let the team's name alone on the records and declared all their scheduled games forfeited.

Before forfeiting, they went through the motions of starting the games, shooting one basket and officially declaring the score at 2-0. It got so funny in Indonesia's game against Nationalist China, which was officiated by no less than Fely Fajardo, when the Indonesians had to make three lay-up attempts to put in the required twin marker for the official 2-0 score.

The result: The field was too strong for the just-start-

ing Indonesians, who hired American Bob Ackerman to teach them. The best they could reach was sixth, despite a pre-game scrimmage with the Philippine team in which a couple of Filipino stars suffered injuries and despite a free-for-all which an Indonesian started against the Thailand flying-

kickers.

The exclusion of Israel and Nationalist China was a boon to the Philippines, for these two countries were supposed to offer the stiffest challenge to Philippine basketball supremacy in Asia. Of course, the Philippine triumph was great as it was and the Philippine team, as it is now composed, might have beaten Israel and Nationalist China as easily as the rest. Still, victory might have been sweeter, more satisfying and more convincing if the scalps included those of the Israelites and Taiwanese.

These are only the most glaring of the organizing sins and they are matters of fact, not of opinion. But there are others, based on interpretation of rules or, in one celebrated case, a question of judgment.

The cause célèbre is Indonesia's own Mohamad Sarengat, the winningest athlete in the Asian Games. He and the Philippines' Rogelio Onofre set a 100-meter dash record with a time of 10.4 seconds in their respective semifinals heats. In the finals, Sarengat beat the field, Onofre placing a poor 10.7 third behind Malaya's Jegathesan.

Sarengat was acclaimed the fastest Asian, until knowledgeable coaches and players started a rumble about a "false start." They claimed that the re-coated Indonesian starter fired the gun just as soon as Sarengat got up from the blocks. Since there was no recall shot, the others had no recourse but to sprint along, but considering all things equal a half-foot head start is a big start in a short race as the century. The critics claimed they noticed a similar false start in the 110-meter high hurdles, which Sarengat also won. They also cited the case of the 80-meter women's hurdles which immediately preceded the 100-meter dash in which the starter recalled the hurdles no less than three times.

Sportsman that he is, Don Antonio de las Alas refused to believe the false start theory even if the Filipino coaches and athletes themselves did. The Filipino top official rather thought that Onofre seemed to "float" (lose the starting momen-

tum and relax) midway in the race and then ran out of wind for the spurt to the tape.

It can only be hoped that de las Alas was right and all others wrong, because questions of judgment never make good alibis for defeats and, most of all, it would be a pity if Sarengat (a

very promising all-around athlete) would have his crown tarnished by suspicions that can neither be proven nor denied.

There were also the cases of very poor officiating and, in one incident, it resulted in a walkout. Thailand's international badminton singles player Watannusin was leading Indonesia's top bet when the referee called what appeared to Watannusin as five bad decisions. The Thai asked for referee substitution, as was his right, but tournament managers refused. Thailand walked out of the games and Indonesia became champion.

In basketball, both Manager Chito Calvo and Coach Enrique Crame of the champion Philippine quintet rated Korea a better team than Japan. Crame said the Koreans might have done better against Japan if only officiating were fair.

Of them all, however, it was Gene Puyat who felt the most cheated. For one, nobody told him before departing for Jakarta that the junior flyweight classification had been scratched from the tournament. He took Antonio Opena to the games only to find that Opena would not be able to show his wares. He was banking on Opena for "perhaps, the lone Philippine gold medal."

In the semifinals against their Japanese foes, Eginio Grafia and Catalino Arpon scored second round knock-downs, but still lost. Jose Ramirez, Jr. opened two cuts on his opponent's eyebrows, but he suffered a cut over one eye. Both the referee and the doctor thought the fight could go on, but the jury committed a flagrant violation of international rules by ordering the referee to stop it. The referee, like the chief umpire in baseball, is supposed to have complete say on when to stop a bout.

There's one thing good Puyat learned from these frustrations. He said the only way the Philippines could win in international scraps like these would be the development and training of fighters who would be so good they would leave no doubt after each fight.

All other managers might have entertained the same thoughts too.

THE MANILA BULLETIN
Sept. 15, 1962

A MATTER OF OPINION Asiad A Success, A Failure

By ERNIE SINGSON
(Last of a series)

After all said about what was done and undone in Jakarta, people have fired broad questions demanding personal opinions and conclusions.

Asked and answered:

Was the Asian Games a failure?

Antonio de las Alas was quoted in Singapore as saying, "After all, the games were a stunning success."

The statement came from a man who might have been too close to the fire to see the smoke. Let's read from a special correspondent of the Hongkong Tiger Standard, who mirrored the thoughts of many:

"The Asian Games... was an abject failure. The games which took place in the arena were made to appear insignificant by the childish games which took place almost nightly in the Hotel Indonesia and Press house between members of the executive committee and government officials.

"No matter how beautiful the stadium, no matter how painstaking the organization if the end product is not given to friendship between nations and better feeling between individuals the result is failure.

"Such failures are inevitable when sports and athletic competition are manipulated for nationalist ends.

"Hitler, despite the grandeur of the Olympic stadium, failed in 1936. He failed when he refused to greet Jesse Owens because of colour prejudice. And the world learned much from this act."

How do you evaluate Indonesia's actions?

First, there was the violation of the Asian Games charter and no amount of embassy-fed information dressed in well-styled English prose can justify it.

Defenders of Indonesia ask why there were no withdrawals, except that of South Korea in track and field and all the countries in the weightlifting events and why India did not pull out in support of G. D. Sondhi.

The question forgot several considerations, namely, (1) that the Indonesians hoodwinked everybody into believing Nationalist China and Israel were welcome, a belief that lasted until the games had started; (2) that the jurisdiction of the International Amateur Athletic Federation was beclouded with doubts by the theory of independence enunciated by Jorge B. Vargas; (3) that the representa-

tives of the international weightlifting federation were determined to "stop the rot," (4) that G. D. Sondhi went to Jakarta as an "honored" vice-president of the A.G.F. and not as a leader of the Indian delegation, which, like other visiting delegations, worried about the money spent and was hoping until it was too late for withdrawal that the political questions would be resolved and the athletes would be allowed to do what they went there for—play; (5) that there was intimidation and coercion, as in the demonstrations against Sondhi, the ugly hooting of the Indians at the closing ceremonies, the attacks by the controlled press, and the threat on India's trade with Indonesia.

Anyway, the question is in the class of the Japanese propaganda statement that the surrender of Bataan and Corregidor proved the Japanese cause right, so there was no use for the Filipinos to resist.

Defenders of Indonesia also say that there had been precedents of exclusion of certain countries from international sportsfest, citing the cases of the world ski championship in Chamônix, France.

Again the question forgot that the French did not hide their intentions to exclude anybody and that they allowed renaming of the games.

It's like asking, "If Cain killed Abel, why can't I kill my brother too?"

Let's read again from the Hongkong Tiger Standard:

"One thing has been clearly demonstrated: Not all countries have reached the level of understanding that international sports events are governed by international regulations which cannot be manipulated by individual countries for their own purposes.

"If Indonesia had grasped this basic principle much distress and dismay would have been avoided.

"The shame of Jakarta, where the final ceremony brought only relief would have been averted."

Did Antonio de las Alas tie right by his country and his people?

The question should have been broken into two

parts. The first: Did he break an ideal? He did and

his first mistake, as it was the mistake of others too, was in having too much faith in the sportsmanship and fairness of the Indonesians. Had he known back here that Indonesia was out to break a rule, perhaps, he might have recommended that no delegation be sent and the money used be channeled instead to stabilizing the different sports associations newly created in implementation of the new P.A.A.F. law.

The second: Were the practical considerations worth the sacrifice of an ideal? This only his conscience and the people can answer.

Had he convened the national Olympic committee when it became obvious Indonesia intended to keep out Israel and Nationalist China, the question of withdrawal or participation would have been the responsibility of the committee and not his, although he would have announced the collective decision himself as head of the delegation.

He did call a meeting of the committee midway in the games, but then there was no quorum and the time for a general pullout had prescribed. As one observer said, "It is now foolish to withdraw." The individual teams could still pull out at this stage and they needed no sanction from de las Alas, but only the weightlifting team was called upon to do so by its international federation. The Philippines withdrew and the others followed.

De las Alas delayed calling the N.O.C. because he was waiting for the crisis which was passing him by. And while waiting, many other things had crept in—the fear of retaliation by the police state that is Indonesia if it lost face through withdrawals of penalties imposed on it and the "about face" the Philippine government executed.

They say that de las Alas thought the federation was bigger than any member, as if the federation is greater than the principle it seeks to uphold and the ideals it is pledged to foster.

What next?

The troubles of the federation are by no means over but at least they are and will be resolved in freer climes and times, Thailand, which has announced it

qualified countries in 1966, will call a council meeting. Nothing is expected more than a verbal condemnation of Indonesia, or probably a suspension, not an ouster. The records will likely remain in the books.

The I.A.A.F. has reportedly refused to recognize the Jakarta games as the Asian Games and the records as meet records and that it has decided to suspend Indonesia for six months. Either the A.G.F. will honor the I.A.A.F. decision, which will have to be ratified by the I.A.A.F. congress, or declare itself completely free of I.A.A.F. jurisdiction.

As for Indonesia, it has learned a lesson (it is hoped) and it will be forgiven.

CPYRGHT

THE MANILA TIMES Sept. 19, 1962

Indonesia reprimanded

Suspension vote modified by UK motion

CPYRGHT

By Mike Hughes

BELGRADE, Sept. 18 —

The International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) Congress Monday decided to "severely reprimand" the Indonesian Amateur Athletic Association (IAAF) for its failure to support the requirements of the IAAF in the Fourth Asian Games in Jakarta last month.

The IAAF council, which met here during the seventh European track and field championships, agreed by a large majority to suspend the Indonesian AAA for six months, but a British amendment to reduce the council decision was to a severe reprimand carried by 105 votes to 72 in congress.

The Indonesian authorities were under censure for not having done enough to ensure the participation of Israel and Nationalist China in the games after these two countries had run into difficulties in gaining entry into Indonesia.

The IAAF withdrew from the games when Israel and Nationalist China failed to enter, and all the athletes who competed in the track and field section were liable to suspension under IAAF rules.

If the IAAF had suspended the athletes, the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 could have been in jeopardy as Japanese athletes were one of the largest contingents in Jakarta. Pakistani and Indian athletes would also have been barred from the forthcoming British Empire and Commonwealth Games which are scheduled in Perth, Australia.

The IAAF council met here during the seventh European track and field championships last week, and agreed to put it to the congress that the Indonesian AA be suspended for six months.

Delegates from Egypt, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Lebanon and Britain spoke on behalf of the Indonesians, all claiming the Indonesian AAA was a very young organization, and that while they deplored discrimination in any form or shape, they did not think it would be in the best interest of Indonesia if she was suspended.

IAAF secretary Donald Pain of Britain argued that the Indonesian AAA was at fault because it had not done enough to ensure participation of Israel and Nationalist China.

Pain said the two countries had received no identity cards to take the place of Visas despite repeated requests for the necessary documents. The Indonesian authorities claimed the identity cards had been sent, but when the IAAF cabled for duplicates to be sent they received no answer.

"The council of the IAAF is satisfied that there was deliberate discrimination against these two members countries," Pain said. It was pointed out to the organizing committee that if the identity cards were not forthcoming, the license to hold the track and field section would be cancelled, but as many other members teams were already in Jakarta, another permit for an ordinary international meeting would be granted in order that they should not be penalized.

Pain also complained that the official IAAF observer, Dr. Kinichi Asano, had difficulty in contacting the organizing committee.

The secretary also brought to council notice the treatment accorded to Gunaun, Hoh of Taiwan, an official member of the Nationalist Chinese team and of the Asian Games committee, who was forcibly ejected when he

arrived at Jakarta airport, and to Mr. Sondhi, the other IAAF observer, who was subjected to "deplorable treatment," including threats of violence from a mob of about 4,000.

Indonesian delegate Sinarto apologized to the council if his country and failed to carry out the IAAF directives. He said he was sincerely sorry the athletes of Israel and Nationalist China had not been able to compete in Jakarta.

He then went on to explain that everything possible was done, despite the charges made by the IAAF council, and that if anybody was to blame it was the Asian Games organizing committee, not the Indonesian AAA. He also pointed out that it was impossible to do anything for the two teams when they were denied entry visas by the Indonesian government.

British delegate Harold Abrahams took the council to task, saying: "I am not sure the council has the power to suspend Indonesia, and while I do not wish to be rude, I feel the council is frustrated because it can't punish the real culprits, the government."